FOR MEMBERS ONLY

M I N U T E S

6TH NATIONAL PLENUM

OF THE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CLEVELAND, OHIO

NOVEMBER 24-27

NOV 1938

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE
1904 DIVISION STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

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#16,593

MINUTES AND DOCUMENTS OF 6th PLENARY SESSION OF R.W.L.

November 25, 1938 Cleveland Ohio.

Agenda- 1-Opening of Plenum. 2- Election of chairman and assistant secretary. 3- Organization of the Plenum- report by National secretary-Oehler. 4- Reports (1) American Imperialism subdivided as follows: a- Imperialist Conflict and Proletarian Revolution-Oehler majority-Wiesenfeld minority. b- Role of American Imperialism-Streeter c- Amprican Imperialist Internal Situation- Okun majority, Wiesenfeld minority. (2) Trade Union and Unemployed- Bertman. (3) Negrette -Lorenz. (4) Youth- Streeter. (5) Workers Vote- Oehler majority Grant minority. (6) LRWP Convention Documents (7) Organizational- a- Organization- Oehler majority, Grant minority. b- 4th Int'l

Oehler majority, Grant minority. c- Fighting Worker- Okun. d- Internal situation of league- Streeter majority, Grant minority. e- Discipline (Control Commission report) Cowan. f- Political Committee- Oehler. g- Convention- Oehler.

Present 12.Noon Friday- 1st session - Lorenz, Reid, Bertman, Okun, Oehler. YWL rep- Allen. Control Commission- Cowan, Shapiro. Observers- Chicago-Bender, Columbus - M. Shapiro, N Davidson- Cleveland- all unit members.
M- Lorenz be chairman. cd. M- Bender be ass't sec'y. cd.
M-Ried.- Place on agenda the LRWP Convention Documents. cd.
M- Accept agenda. cd.
M-Oehler- To open the Plenum and proceed with regular agenda and reports- subject to approval or reconsideration as soon as Streeter or Grant arrives. CD.
M- Oehler(PC)- The 6th Plenum adopt regular proceedure carried out at previous plenums and conventions. CD.
M- Oehler (PC)- After plenum is officially organized following sessions can be opened by a quorum of 4 voting members. CD.
Substituye M- Reid- Quorum be 5 voting members. DEF.
M- Bertman- The plenum proceed as a constituted quorum. DEF.
(Roll call vote A)

M- Okun- Sessions begin at 8 AM instead of 10 AM. DEF.
Comrade Streeter arrives at this point (12:35) before motions are voted.
Oehler Majority report- Anglo-American Antagonisms.
Time extended to reporter 8 minutes.
M- Oehler- Plenum endorse the PC line on the War Danger and the International situation as listed in the following documents-
a. 1st article Volume 4 #3 of 4th Int'l. "After Munich". (roll call R. CD.) b. IB #45/ (roll call Q . CD) c. 3rd article vol 4 # 3 4th In'l "Revolutionary Defeatism" (roll call P CD)
d. Anglo-American antangonisms. (roll call O CD).
M- Oehler- The plenum rejects and critisizes the Wiesenfeld "minority" report as presenting no political differences from the PC position, except on one point, i.e. the evaluation of Anglo-german relations since Munich, and considers this difference a false amendment to the PC position. This attempt to manufacture political differences is a false procedure, which must be opposed. (roll call
Streeter report- Role Of American Imperialism (S CD)
Time extended 10 minutes.
Okun Report- U.S. Internal Situation.
M- Okun- The Plenum rejects the Wiesenfeld "minority" report on the "Crisis and class relations in the US" as presenting no political differences on any point which can constitute a minority status. The Wiesenfeld document has in it verbatim practically the whole PC document plus 5 or 6 eleaborations and additions which the PC report has included abstractly. Such actions is an irresponsible attempt to establish political differences and hampers the work of the League. (Roll call Z CD)

Due to absence from Plenum of comrades holding "minority" reports the plenum proceeded to discussion on reports given with the understanding that minority positions would be reported on arrival of comrades presenting them, meanwhile summaries and voting to be held over.
Discussion on reports- Bertman, Reid, Streeter, Lorenz.
Comrade Grant and Hadley arrive at Plenum (3:15).
M- O
M- Oehler- permit Wiesenfeld to present his minority report if he arrives before midnight, summarries and voting to be held over until then. CD.
M- to adjourn ½ hour for dinner, reconvene at 3:45. CD.

2nd Session - present same as 1st session plus Grant, Streeter, Of [illegible] and Hadley- Chicago observer.
M- Reid be Chairman. CD.

Trade Union and Unemployed Report- Bertman.
M- Oehler- Plenum grant Hadley special privilege to speak on this point. (Roll Call D. CD.)
M- Reid- Comrade Hadley is a member of the Plenum(Roll call B DEF)
M- Grant- That all members of the youth NEC are members of the plenum with voice and consultative vote. (Roll call C. CD)
Report of PC on Hadley- that last Plenum had graduated him from YWL with instructions not to take part in youth work, and RWL Plenum does not recognize his status as being on YWL NEC.
Discussion on T.U and Unemployed report- Cowan, Hadley, Shapiro, Allen Okun, Grant, Oehler, Ried.

M- Ried (for Hadley)- 1- The WAA has moved so far to the right that centrists splits are taking place due to the pressure of the workers. The time is ripe for the building of a national unemployed movement independent of the WAA. CD/ 2- The RWL take concrete steps in the next period to build a national unemployed movement independent of the WAA. (Roll call E. CD) 3- The relationship of WPA to direct relief clients makes the WPA the main concentration point in the unemployed field. DEF.
Cowan Amendment- Add "Leftward moving" instead of the phrase "centrist splits" in part 1 of above motion. CD.
M- Okun- Work for a meeting of left wing independent organizations in unemployed field in Cleveland within next few months, to consolidate these forces to act as a center for rallying workers to militant action independent of W.A.A., CD.
M- Grant- 1- to establish a national Trade Union Dept. (roll call F. CD). 2- to concentrate our anti-war work at present in industrial and unemployed field. e. g. expose and disrupt M-day plans, etc. (Roll call G. CD.)
Comrade Sold arribed at Plenum at this point (6 :20 Friday)
Bertman proceeded with summarry.

M- PC- Wherever we have comrades in a city engaged in unemployed wor we attempt to organize and unify the unemployed workers on a class struggle line in opposition to the burocratic forces and organizatio with the perfection of new independent unemployed organizations natio ally. CD.
Amendment Sold- to Okun motion- delete word "Cleveland". DEF.
M- Okun- table Grant's 1st motion to org report. DEF.
Amendment Lorenz- add "and political field" to Grant's second motion
Motion-Oehler0 adopt T.U. and Unemployed report as amended. (Roll call H. CD.)
Oehler reply to Sold question on report- T.U. outline was voted on and adopted by the P.C.
Motion to recess½ hour for supper. cd.

3rd Session 8:40 PM. Present- Same.
M- Grant be chairman. CD.

M- Sold- instruct the control commission to meet early tomorrow morning before Plenum session. Not Carried.
M- Oehler- The Control Commission meet at the convenience of the control commission and comrades involved, outside of regular plenum sessions. CD.
Grant challenges Allens right to vote in Plenum, by disregarding vote.
M- Sold- table question of control commission until challenging of whether Allen has a vote or not is settled. Obviated.
Okun point of order that Allen's vote must be counted until Plenum reconsiders question of his vote, which was recognized by the plenum at the first session. Chairman Grant ruled out of order. Chair appealed. Appeal sustained and point of order recognized.
M- Grant- to reconsider action of Plenum in seating Allen as Y/L rep. (Rollcall I. DEF.)
M-Okun- 3 minute time limit for discussion. CD.
Wiesenfeld arrieves at Plenum at this point 9:30 PM Friday.
Lorenz statement # 1 attached. Sold Statement # 2 attached
M- extend more time for Grant. Def.
Sold Statement # 3 attached.
M- Okun- refer to control com. statement of Sold that "Oehler is gu of one of the basest methods of Stalinist burocracy and railroading discisions". (Roll call J. CD).

M- Oehler- recess for a PC and a Buro meeting. CD.
Statement Grant #4 attached.
Session adjourned and reconvened 11:25 PM. all present.
PC Motion- The Workers Vote preceed the YWL report. CD.
Bureau meeting report- Now that Wiesenfeld is present he be YWL rep with desicive vote.
Statement Allen-Oehler # 5 attached.
Bertman point of order on Wiesenfelds discussion of Allen-Oehler statement on Bureau meeting , ruled out of order. Chair appealed, chair sustained.
M- Sold- The incoming PC inform and educate the YWL-NEC as to the correct democratic centralist structure in the following aspects: 1. the rights of individual NEC members at scheduled meetings of the NEC. 2. What constitutes a voting quorum of the Buro. 3. The rights of Buro alternates. The information shall be presented on the basis of RWL-YWL constitution, and past RWL procedure.
M- Bertman- refer Sold Motion to Youth report. CD.
M- Seat comrade Wiesenfeld as YWL rep to Plenum. CD.
M- Oehler- second round of discussion on Imperialism be 5 minutes. CD.
Wiesenfeld report - Minority-International and Internal role of American Imperialism.
Statement Grant and Sold attached # 6. Statement Okun, attached # 7
Discussion on reports- Sold, Grant, Reid, Hadley.
M- Grant- that Hadley be granted special privilege to speak.(Roll call K. CD)
M- Sold- grant Sold 15 minutes extension for discussion . DEF.
M- Streeter- " " 10 " " " " " CD.
Amendments Ried- to Streeter report- Delete part containing concept that in this period and with internal conditions in S.U. being the same as today (workers kept in check) the U.S. and Britain will attack S.U. Substitute: a. The interest of American Imperialism in the periid when the workers in S.U. are in in check is to retain Stalinism as a buffer. A war involving England aids American Imp. The present trend is to cement an alliance with SU ~~xxxxxx~~ against

England. b. However, in the event the workers in SU break from Stalinism (from the left) American Imperialism finding itself and capitalism threatened by a workers upsurge would then in concert with British and other Imperialists attack the SU. DEFEATED
Summaries- Wiesenfeld (2 minorities) Okun, Streeter, Oehler, (major
M- Wiesenfeld- Not turned in to sec'y. (Rollcall M. DEF)
Amendment Bertman- to Okun report- The American Bourgeoisie, under the cloak of the new deal, is developing the forms of Fascism, and preparing the apparatus for their administration. DEF. 1f 5 ag.
Streeter M- substitute to Ried Amendment- The fundamental antagonism in society today is that between world capitalism and the extension of the proletarian revolution. The secondary antagonism, the main antagaonism among the imperialists, is that between Great Britain and the U.S.A.. CD. 7for.
Sold Statement # 8, attached.
Okun substitute to Bertman Amendment- Reformism as an agency of capitalism, inndecay capitalism prepares the forms taken over and developed later by Fascism. CD. 3f 2 ag 3nv.
Wiesenfeld Statement #9 Attached.
Grant Motion- that the inclusion of an analysis of developments within the proletariat is a necessary part of a document on Internal U.S. Imperialism. To try to relegate such analysis to a trade union report demonstrates an economist tendency. (Roll call L. DEF)
M- Okun- to remove Grant as Chairman. DEF.
M- Grant- to separated Oehler's motion to endorse. CD.
M- Wiesenfeld- accept Int'l minority report. (Roll call N DEF)
M- Okun- to endorse PC report on American Imperialism.(rollcall T.CD)
M-Wiesenfeld- Endorse Minority report on Internal American Imperialism. (Roll call U. DEF.).
Chairman Grant ruled Okun Motion rejecting Wiesenfeld minority report out of order as being unconstitutional. Bertman appeals ruling of chair. Appeal sustained.
M- to sustain chair. (Roll call V. DEF)
M- Sold- Reconsider calling of question and re-open discussion. DEF
M-Grant- She be given special privelge to reopen question of Oehler motion. DEF.
M- Streeter- To replace chairman. CD 5 f 4 ag
Nominations - Streeter, Sold. Streeter chairman 5-4
Wiesenfeld point of order that a motion which was voted while comrades of minority are absent has no validity, because these comrades didn't discuss the motion or know about it. Chair rules point out of order. Wiesenfeld appeals. M- to sustain chair. (roll call W.

Oehler Statement (attached # 9)
M- Sold- reopen discussion on Okun Motion (Rollcall x DEF)
Shapiro Statement on rollcall X (Attached # 10)
M- to accept PC report on U.S. internal role. (roll call Y CD)
Grant statement- (attached # 11)
M- Oehler- When the Plenum reconvenes at 10AM we take up the org reports of 7 subdivisions and if we complete this before adjournment the same night we then take up the reports held over, i.e. Workers Vote, Youth, Spain. CD.
M- 2 speak for 2 against. CD. M- 5 minute limit. CD.
M- Special privielege for Ried, for 2 minutes. CD.
M- Ried- to limit time of each point so all points on agenda will be covered. Not Carried.
Statement- Grant, Wiesenfeld, Ried, Sold. (Attached # 12)
M- Allen- we have an all night session. DEF.
M- Reconvene at 10 AM. CD/

M- Sold- reconsider the decision of the Plenum giving Control Committee right to call control com meetings at convenience of comrades involved. DEF.
Session adjourned approximately 4:30 AM

Saturday November 26, 4th session of Plenum. Called to order at 11 am. Present- Oehler, Bertman, Sold, Wiesenfeld, Grant, Lorenz. Chairman - all six nominated. Tie vote on all. Nat'l sec'Y takes over chair by default.
Oehler to report on PC, chair turned over to Lorenz.
Sold proposes to take up motion on another subject. Lorenz ruled only org report in order. Sold appeals. Appeal sustained,unanim.
M- Sold- to exclude Cowan from Plenum Sessions. (obviated)
Motion-Oehler0 to refer to sub committee- Streeter, Oehler, Reid, and Sold to present his charges against a certain comraed of the Contorl com, to this committee. CD.
Ried, Streeter, Okun, Shapiro, arrive before voting.
Chair ruled that motion to refer is not debatable. Sold appeals.
Motion- to sustain chair ruling. CD/
Grant motion made at this point ruled out of order on grounds of absolute irrelevance at this juncture. with understanding the chair would entertain that motion when its proper place on agenda is reached. Grant appeals chair. M- to sustain chair (rollcall 1 CD)
Statement Sold-Attached # 13 Statement Okun- attached # 14

Org'l and 4th In'l report- Oehler for Majority.
Fighting Worker report- Okun
Org'l and 4th IN81 minority- Grant - M- ten minute extension. CD
M- reconsider 10 minutes time for discussion to 5 minute. CD.
M- take list and close, CD. Discussion, Okun, Bertman, Allen, Sold, Ried, Streeter, Lorenz- M- Hadley have special privilege to speak.DEF
Oehler Statement- (Attached # 15) Sold, Ried, Grant, Wiesenfeld Statement (attached # 16). Okun Statement (attached # 17)
Challenge by Sold of right of active Cleveland sympathizer Donald Cowan to sit in Plenum. Motion- he be permitted to sit in. CD.
Time extensions- Sold, 5 minutes, Streeter, 5 minutes, Ried, 5 minute
M- Ried- In the next period the RWL is to organize around the recruitment of workers into the League on the basis of our line. Comrades to contact workers in industry and consistently maintain such contacts with a view to winning them over to communism and RWL. CD
Statement Okun- (attached # 18).
M- 5 minute extension for Lorenz. CD. M- adjourn ½ hour for dinner. CD
5fth session reconvened 4:15 Saturday. All Present

Nominations for Chairman, Wiesenfeld, Bertman, Sold.
Sold- declines, Wiesenfeld for 4 Bertman for 5. Bertman chairman.
Motion- Control Commission- In view of nature of next session it be closed. Tabled (DEF)
Request from Sold that he be excused from remainder of Plenum because he has a job waiting in Chicago, and his mother is ill. Also a request for the necessary funds to get home with.
M- Grant- give him permission to leave (Roll call 2 DEF)
M- Allen- refer to Nat'l sec'y question of getting Sold home. CD
M- extend Grant time 10 minutes. CD/
Lorenz Amendments to Okun FW report.- Journistically-l articles are still written in stereotyped and thesis form. Result is difficult reading for raw workers. Too much space is occupied by repititious ads, cuts and slogans limiting essential copy. Too much space is taken up by masthead(fully two columns). Leading articles insufficiently displayed for lack of larger type, heads, lack of follow-up smaller sub-heads. Often heads don't haronize with copy. Technical- makeup is often confusedly jumbled. Printing is often too faint. Insufficient care taken in proof reading. Cuts are too large and often unintelliglble. Leading important articles are not in their proper proportion and in their proper places. Proposals- Change masthead to half its size. Cuts to be either improved or eliminated. In any case they must not occupy as much space as they do now. Each issue to have a 5 column headline. Care must be taken to see that future issues habe bolder impressions, either thru better paper or ink. PC to appoint a business manager whose only function shall be to increase sales.

Motion- to refer Lorenz amendments to PC. CD
Motion Oehler- approve PC FW report- (Roll call 3 CD)
Motion Okun- approve PC 4th Int'l report (Roll call 5 CD)
M-Okun- Approve PC Orgl'z report (roll call 8 CD)
m-Grant- approve minority 4th report (rollcall 4 DEF)
M-Grant- approve minority org'l report (rollcall 6 DEF)
Motion Grant- endorse Grant plan of action (roll call 7 DEF)
Statement Sold- Attached # 19) handed in by Wiesenfeld, Sold having left without informing Plenum.
Chair rules that votes left by Sold in his statement have no validity as Sold left despite the decision of the plenum that he remain.
M- Oehler- refer the whole matter regarding Sold and his statement to proper point on agenda. CD
M- grant Wiesenfeld special privilege to explain his connection with Sold's leaving at this point. DEF
M- reconsider above motion. DEF
M- Ried- accept votes left in Sold Statement- Ruled out of order.
M- Grant- the violation of discipline does not automatically remove a comrades vote. CD

M- Oehler- refer to point on agenda dealing with all violations. CD
M- Okun- when a comrade leaves a plenum in violation of the plenum decision, his vote in writing does not count. CD. Wiesenfeld NV
Ried appeals chair ruling on his motion on Sold's vote.
Motion - to sustain chair ruling. CD/
Wiesenfeld Statement- attached (# 20)
Telegram to Plenum- Revolutionary Communist Greetings to the sixth Plenum of the RWL. To the only revolutionary Marxist organization we wish the greatest success in its gigantic tasks, May the next national convention be called amidst great enthusiasm and revolutionary determination. May the American working class find the RWL/~~and~~ as its vanguard in class action in the coming period. May the slogan of "all power to the workers councils" soon be on the order of the day. Forward to the class battles! Forward to the communist 4 International! Forward to a soviet America and a world communist society. Long live the Revolutionary Workers League.
Jim Strong- for the New York Unit of RWL.
Internal Situation- Streeter reporting for PC
M- ~~[illegible]~~ Streeter-extension. cd.

Motion- Oehler, Streeter- The 6th Plenum is struggling against cliquist oppositionism im its central committee organized and led by comrade Grant. The clique ~~mm~~ so organized is politically immature, a reflection of demoralization based on the recent internal struggles & a carryover of a sectarian past. After the 2nd convention Grant carried on a systematic fight against the PC, even after St mm was expelled, in spite of no political opposition line presented in the PC. From that period till one month before the 6th plenum, Grant introduced not one fundamental political question in opposition to the line of the PC.

Nevertheless she organized and conducted a vicious organized struggle vs the League in the Youth Buro, PC, Chicago Unit, Youth Unit. At this Plenum the comrade has formed an unprincipled bloc with Sold and has extended the struggle in form to a split struggle, altho politically she has established in documents no fundamental differences with the plenum. Such behavior is sectarian, Grant is organizing an oppositionist clique. The Plenum instructs the comrades around Grant to liquidate their caucus and censures Grant with a warning that any future behavior of this sort will be met with sterner action. The PC is empowered to take further action. (Roll call 11 CD)
Grant minority report in Internal situation-
M- ten minutes time extension. CD. M- 5 minutes discussion limit. CD
M- take list and close. CD. Discussion- Allen, Shapiro, Reid, Okun, Wiesenfeld, Lorenz, Cowan, Oehler, Bertman, * Hadley.
M- Wiesenfeld- Hadley have special privilege to speak. CD.
M- adjourn ½ hour for supper CD.
6th Session reconvened 10:40 PM All present except Sold; Cowan late. Chairman Okun.

Summaries- Internal minority- Grant- Internal majority - Streeter.
M- 10 minutes extension for Grant. cd. M*- 10 minutes exten. Streeter CD
M- Allen- Plenum reaffird decision of the 4 th plenum: "Endorse the action of the P.C. since the convention in terminating the struggle with the Stamm groupl" (Roll call 13 CD)
M- Grant- accept minority report (rollcall 9 DEF)
M- Streeter- Accept majority report (roll call 10 CD)
M- Wiesenfeld- censure Wiesenfeld on same grounds as comrade Grant . (rollcall 12 DEF)
M- Grant- That Cowan's statement that "Grant and her clicque" has followed a hopelessly sectarian course for the past 2 years is a condemnation of the course of the organization for these comrades - Wiesenfeld, Young, Streeter, Grant, etc. have functioned on the line of the organization according to convention, PC and Plenum decisions. (Rollcall 14 NOT CAR)
M- Grant- It is an activist reaction to a politically correct line. (Rollcall # 15 Not Carried)
M- Grant- that the Stamm (revolt) group is a political opponent org. objectively an agent of the bourgeoisie. The political positions the group developed while still within the org. were the basis for the split and constituted an irreconcilable centrist tendency. (incorporated Oehler amendment) The stammittes are a centrist grouplet who present immature economist material, and are at present functioning as a tail to the Trotskyites. (Grant addition) They have consistently moved to the right, since their existence as an outside organization. (Roll call 16 CD)
Report on control commission held over until com Cowan arrives.
M- Wiesenfeld- to censure comrade Sold for violating the discipline of the

Plenum by leaving the Plenu. (Rollcall 17 CD)
Statement- Ried, Grant, Wiesenfeld (attached # 21)
Request from comrade Beardslee-; The PC referred the question of action against Beardslee to the Plenum. At the same time comrade Beardslee sent in a letter asking that he be dropped from the central committee
M- Oehler- Plenum suspend com Beardslee from central committee for lack of activity, and assign him work under the PC through com's Reid and Lorenz. (rollcall 19 CD)
M- Grant- suspend con Beardslee from the organization, and the PC assign him to work (Rollcall 18 DEF)
Motioin Okun- endorse Oehler- Okun Draft on French developments. CD
Cowan arrived at Plenum. (attached)
Control commission reccomendation on procedure: The sec'y of the com moves for a- inclusion in the minutes of the plenum of the following documents: 1- Nat'l sec'y's letter- sept 10, 1938 to control com. 2- minutes of Control Com - Sept 20, 1938, Columbus, 3- Findings of the Control Com -Sept 24, 1938 4- Minutes of Control Com- Oct 10, 19 Chicago, 5- Nat'l sec'y letter- Oct 25, 1938 to control committee. 6- Minutes of Control committee- Nov 26, 1938, Cleveland, Ohio.
b- We propose, first, reading of the documents listed; second, report

by chairman of control committee on Resolution of control committee, with usual discussion and summary. CD.
Motion control committee- The control commission reccommends to the Sixth Plenum of the RWL: a) immediate removal of Comrade Sold from the Political committee. b) Suspension of Comrade Sold from the Central Committee ujtil the Third National Convention of the RWL. c) Inclusion of the Control Commission findings on Comrade Sold on the Convention Agenda, with a recommendation for the expulsion of Comrade Sold from the RWL as an undisciplined, unprincipled, non-coummunist obstructionist and disrupter. d) The Sixth Plenum make the complete record of the Control Commission with regard to Comrade Sold, from Setp. 10 to date, the property of the membership of the RWL through an internal bulletin, as an educational document on the problem of Communist organizational procedure, and as a warning to those undeveloped and amateurish elements in the organization who have objectively aided this unprincipled individual in his work of obstruction and disruption.
Okun Amendments- to above motions- a) eliminate pt c. b) eliminate words "complete record" in pt d and substitute "findings", c) add pt (e) " The P.C. shall make every effort despite these things to re-educate this comrade and to help him organize his life around the movement. d) Should Sold continue his present course the PC is empowered to take further action. Add the point- "Sold has violated the decisions of the control committee, the Plenum, and the PC ".
(roll call 26 CD) with amendments.
Control commission findings - reported by Cowan.
M- 5 minutes time extension. CD. M- 5 min discussion no extensions

Discussion - Okun, Shapiro, Ried, Wiesenfeld, Allen, Lorenz, Bertman, Grant, Oehler.
Roll call votes on Okun Amendments point by point.
a- rollcall 22 CD. b- rollcall 23 CD. c- rollcall 24 CD d-rollcall 25
Added point- CD.
Control commission documents attached)
Motion Wiesenfeld- Holding a position and stating it through the regular channels of the organization is not grounds for disciplinary action The only grounds for disciplinary action are: (article 7, section 6, of the constitutuion) " Grounds for disciplinary action shall include violations of decisions, inactivity, carrying information to the class enemy and/or opponent organizations, cowardice in action, scabbing, employment by the police and other actions and practices which indicate attachment to or reconciliation with bourgeois society" (Rollcall 28 DEF)
Statement Okun-voted- comrade Sold has been guilty of slander, vilification, inside and outside his committee, refusal to collaborate, and a failure to carry out the decisions of the last plenum - to organize his life around the movement. The Plenum suspends Sold from the central committee, and instructs him to stop his slander and organize his life

around the movement. (Rollcall 27 CD)
Wiesenfeld point of order- charges in Okuns motion were not presented to comrade Sold and therefore is out of order. (chair ruled no point of order as Sold left Plenum against Plenum decision.
Cowan Statement (attached # 22) Cowan Statement (for L. Thomas) attached # 23)
M- Grant- to reject findings of control commission as unwarranted, as overstepping its functions, as factional in its threats vs. other comrades who it has had no occasion to deal with (rollcall # 20 DEF)
M- Oehler- approve control commission work as progress. (RC # 21 CD)
Statement Wiesenfeld (attached # 24 # 25) Statement Oehler (attached # 26) Statement Shapiro (attached # 27)
Subcommittee of control commission- report on Sold's charges against a member of control commission(Cowan). Streeter reporting for majority Reid for minority. M- 5 minutes for each report. CD
Discussion- Oehler, Cowan, Bertman. M- Wiesenfeld have special privilege to ask Cowan a question. CD
Findings of Plenum sub-committee to Investigate Sold motion to unseat Comrade Cowan from the Plenum.
1- A non member of a committee must upon request comply with the procedure of the committee even though he may disagree with this procedure. In this event he appeals to the proper body. To refuse to comply and later appeal, is the concept of violate and appeal, rejected by the org
2- a member who uses derogative remarks and vilification against other comrades, and does not prove his accusations or bring charges, must be disciplined accordingly. A communist organization does not tolerate

use of this type of remarks by one member abainst another.
3- Comrade Sold carried through the above false proceure of violate and appeal and resorted to extreme vilification and provocative remarks throughout the Control committee meeting.
4- The use of violence or threat of violence in the labor movement must be decisevlt rejected. Even under provocation it is impermissible to threaten or use violence against a comrade.
4- Comrade Cowan, under the provocation of comrade Sold, at the Control Commission meeting, threatened the use of violence against Sold.
5- The sub-committee refers to the Plenum its findings for action. The sub-committee is in agreement on the findings except that Ried will present a minority on point 2. - Oehler, Streeter, Ried.
Summaries- Ried, Streeter.
Motion-Ried- endorse minority report- i.e.- delete point 2 from majority report. DEF. 3for 5 ag.
Motion Streeter- endorse majority report CD. 6for 1 ag.
Reid Statement (entered for Sold) Attached # 28)

Nominated slates for PC- PC nominees, Negrete, Lorenz, Streeter, Ohler with Okun as voting alternate to replace out of town comrades.
Grant slate- Oehler, Streeter, Ried, Grant. -obviated -
M- Ried, suspend comrade Angelo from Central Commitee for inactivity.
(Roll call 29 CD)
M- Okun- that reps from both organizations (YWL and RWL) have no decisiv vote, and this be a favorable recommendation to convention. DEF
M- Oehler- (PC)- slate -Negrette, Streeter, Oehler. CD
M- Wiesenfeld- Alternate be Grant with voting power.
M- Oehler - Alternate be Okun with voting power.
(Rollcall # 30. Okun elcted.
Oehler reported on LRWP documents.
M- Oehler- the LRWP documents of their Toronto convention, which have been presented to the plenum, shall be turned over to the PC for analysis and reported to Central Committee. If any action is proposed this shall be sent out for rollcall vote. CD
M- Oehler- The plenum instructs the Central Committee members to complete their amendments and proposals to the programmatic draft in 3 weeks and within 2 months the PC proceed to publish the Draft document for the membership and the class. CD.
M- Oehler- The plenum material be issued in the follwowing manner, a) regular text. b) documents not published. c) Statements. Notcarried.
Motion Grant- the minutes be issued as taken, all statements to be included in proper place. NotCarried
M- Bertman- Minutes and statements be issued together. CD.
Wiesenfeld requested 1 month leave of absence from the center to go to NY for operation. Request granted.

Ried Statement # 29 attached.
M- Oehler- on convention- 1- the 6th Plenum prepared to present to the membership its positions for the 3rd convention of the RWL.
2- Within the constitutional provisions governing discussion or the election of delegates we instruct the PC to prepare the Plenum material and any additional material presented to it for the convention discussion.
3- The PC shall be given two months to issued the material. Discussion to be opened after 2 months and final date than set by roll call vote. Length of resolutions and articles to be limited to 2,000 words for the IB 500 words for articles on those questions presented to the class. Material to be issued in order received. The PC shall decide what materia shall be issued to the class.
4- Convention to be held in Chicago.
5- Fighting Worker and 4thinternational publishing shall take president.
(Carried. all points)
M- Ried-In the preconvention discussion, the top committee cannot deny the right of comrades to present their positions in our internal and external organz, units and the class. Such documents must be published regardless of the opinion of the top committee and sub committee in charge of publications, specifically, the comrades of the Plenum minority positions must have access to above sources. (The PC decides wich documents are internal or external. (Ruled out of order on the grounds that the Plenum granted no minority status to comrades .)
M- Streeter- Plenum reaffirm the right of all comrades to present their positions in the pre-convention discussion, within the limits laid down by the Plenum and the constitution. CD.
M- Oehler- The business manager of the 4th Int'l and FW editorial board constitute, with nat'l secretary a committee to get out technically all material for preconvention discussion, under PC. CD.
M- Grant- to have a convention in 3 months; convention call, rules to be out in two weeks, Plenum reports to be issued immediately.(Rollcall 31 DE Discussion - M- special privilege for Bender to speak. CD.
M- Okun- This plenum has laid down its main political documents here. Nevertheless the long discussions on the org'l questions excluded the discussion on 3 important points on the agenda. The plenum considers this a serious shortcomiing and instructs the PC to publish those documents with the other documents of the Plenum. CD
M- Okun- The PC is instructed to elaborate the outlines of reports given here, not yet written up in essay form. CD.
Statement Grant, Wiesenfeld, attached # 30, attached. Okun Statement # 31 attached.
6th Plenum of RWL adjourned 5:40 AM Sunday November 27, 1938

Central Committee	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	j.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.	p
Oehler	ag	ag	ag	F.	ag	F.	ag	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F
Okun	ag	ag	nv	F.	ag	nv	ag	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F
Bertman	F	ag	ag	F.	F	F	ag	F	ag	F	ag	agag		ag	F	F
Reid	ag	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	ag	F	nv	F	ag	F	F
Lorenz	F	ag	Fs	F	F	F	F	F	ag	F	F	aggag		ag	F	F
Streeter	nv	ag	F	F	nv	F	ag	F	ag	F	F	ag	ag	ag	F	F
Grant	o	F	F	nv	F	F	F	F	F	ag	F	F	F	F	ag	F
Bold	o	o	o	o	F	F	F	nvs	F	nv	F	F	F	F	ag	F
Wiesenfeld	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	F*	ag*	F	F	F	F	ag	F
Allen	ag	ag	Fs	F	F	F	ag	F	ag	F						
consultative																
Shapiro	ag	ag	Fx	F	F	F	ag	F	nv	nv	F	ag	F	ag	F	F
Cowan	nvsag		ag	F	F	nv	ag	F	ag	nvag		ag	ag	ag	F	F
Allen	decisive vote above										ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F

Key to symbols used in rollcall votes

F - for
ag- against
nv- not voting
nr- not registering a vote
s plus other symbol- with statement
Ok - for Okun
Gr - for Grant
o- absent from session
ho- hold over
* - Wiesenfeld votes consultative until Buro meeting.
a-plus other symbol- as amendnded

Central committee	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	1	2	3	4	5	6
Oehler	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	nv	F	ag	F	ag
Okun	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	ag	F	ag	F	ag
Bertman	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	Fa	F	F	ag	F	ag	F	ag
Lorenz	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	ag	Fa	ag	F	ag
Streeter	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	ag	F	ag	F	Ag
Reid	F	F	ags	F	ho	F	ag	F	F	agag	F		F	ho	ho	ho
Wiesenfeld	F	ag	ag	nvs	F	F	ag	F	ag	ag	agag		Fs	F	ag	F
Grant	F	ag	agsnv		F	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	nv	nv	F	ag	F
Sold	F	ag	ag	ag	F	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	F	o	o	o	o
consultative																
Cowan	F	F	nv	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	o	ag	F	nv	nv	ag
Shapiro	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ags	F	F	F	ag	F	nv	nv	ag
Allen	F	F	F	F	ag	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	ag	F	ag	F	ag

Statements with roll call votes on page 18

Central Committee	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Oehler	ag	F	ag	F	F	nv	F	ags	ags	F	F	ag	F	ag
Okun	ags	F	ag	F	F	nv	F	nr	nr	F	F	ag	F	ag
Bertman	ag	F	ag	F	F	nv	nv	ags	ag	F	F	ag	F	ag
Lorenz	ag	F	ag	F	F	nv	nv	nr	nr	F	F	ag	F	ag
Streeter	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	F	ags	ags	F	F	ag	F	ag
Reid	F	ho	Fs	ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F	F	F	ag	F	F
Wiesenfeld	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Grant	F	ag	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	F	F	F	F	F	nv	F
Sold	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Consultative														
Cowan	ag	nv	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ag	F	ag
Shapiro	nv	nv	ag	F	F	ag	F	nv	ag	F	F	ag	F	ag
Allen	ag	F	ag	F	F	F	F	ags	ags	F	F	ag	F	ag

Central Committee	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Oehler	F	F	F	nv	F	F	F	ag	F	Ok	ag
Okun	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	ag	F	Ok	ag
Bertman	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	Fs	ag	ag	F	Ok	ag
Lorenz	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	ag	F	Ok	ag
Streeter	F	F	nv	F	F	F	F	ag	F	Ok	ag
Ried	ag	F	F	F	nv	ag	F	nv	F	nvs	ag
Wiesenfeld	ag	nv	nv	nv	nv	ag	ag	F	F	Gr	F
Grant	ag	nv	nv	nv	nv	ag	ag	F	F	Gr	F
Sold	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
Cowan	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	ags	nv	ag	F	Ok	o
Shapiro	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	ags	nv	ag	F	Ok	ag
Allen	F	ag	ag	ag	ag	ags	nv	ag	F	Ok	ag

Cowan Statement- Roll call a- I vote not voting with this statement, a quorum is established as a majority of the central committee. This rule cannot be set aside either by the political committee or a minority of the central committee.
Lorenz statement- rollcall c - This is a needless motion, I have already voted "aye" before.
Allen Statement roll call c - This excludes all comrades removed from YWL by RWL
Shapiro statement- rollcall c- This motion has already been carried at the meeting (inception) of the plenum. Comrade Hadley cannot be recognized as a National Youth rep because the RWL has removed him from youth status.
Ried Statement- rollcall s- I vote against comrade Oehlers motion to reject and criticize since the minority motion has already been defeated and a rebuke does not change a comrades opinion.
Wiesenfeld statement- roll call T - not voting- amendments I presented are not present.

Shapiro statement- rollcall x- The statement that the plenum is violating its convention proceedure with regard to Stamm is completely false. It was Stamm who insisted that delegates to convention must be elected only on basis of political position presented to the preconvention plenum. We rejected this position taking the stand that elections could be on any basis the units saw fit to apply It is Grant, Sold, Wiesenfeld, who want to duplicate Stamm's views on democratic procedure.
Wiesenfeld statement-rollcall 3- The style of the pamphlet material in FW lacked attempt to prove point to workingclass.
Okun statement- rollcall 7 - Most of the points in the Grant plan of action are covered in the PC plan. The rest of the points are false.
Statement Ried- rollcall 9 - I vote for minority "Internal situation report" excepting the following concepts: 1-false political position have not been combatted. 2- the line U.S.- Great Britain struggle has been watered down. 3- Above positions of PC are revisions from the line. 4- I agree, however, with minority position on S.U.
Allen Statement- roll call 15 - 14 - Shysterism is now complemented by political stupidity.
Streeter, Bertman, Oehler- statement- rollcall 14 -15- It is completely false to make an excerpt of a comrades verbal remarks and make a motion on it, not giving the comrade, who is absent, any opportunity to present his position.
Cowan, Shapiro, Bertman, Allen Statement- roollcall 26 - I am for the recommendations of the Control committee without the amendments.
Secretary's note- statements handed in, not marked for which

rollcall or point on agenda, will be added to end of statement list.

X Allen Statement- rollcall 14- This is typical of Grant's shyster perversion of a comrade's remarks,. I vote against with this statement.

Statements listed in order of their occurence.

1. Lorenz- Grant was present through nearly all of last session and didnot challenge Allen's vote.

2;- Sold- Okun's withdrawn motion to refer Sold Statement about Oehler being a Stalinist burocrat to control commission.

3. Sold- I did not say that.

4. Grant- I did not challenge Allen's vote before because I thought Allen was casting his vote in a consultative capacity. At supper I discovered he had been casting a decisive vote. Comrade Allen agrees that is what happened.

5. Allen & Oehler - The majority (Allen and Oehler) of the NC meeting just held has elected Wiesenfeld as rep to the Plenum despite the fact that differences exist between Wiesenfeld and the majority. Inasmuch as we do not consider these differences to be of a principled political nature, and morevoer we are primarily interested in the constructivebuilding of the Y/L, we allow Wiesenfeld to be the youth rep.

6. Grant & Sold - Okun put in a motion which he subsequently withdrew to eliminate discussion on the key ~~political question~~ before the organization and the class. This reflects the situation in the PC for months past of lack of political leadership. It demonstrates also a petty burocratic attitude toward these basic questions and a factional, preconcievd position admitting of no correction or restraint by the Plenum.

7. Okun - Comrade's Sold and Grant "forget" we had 3 hours discussion on this point at the first session.

8. Sold- Oehler stated that "Sold as usual, voted not voting" on the Russian Red Army position. The pPC minutes disclose the contrary. As usual Oehler lies brazenly.

9 Oehler - I deny I stated the above.

10. Wiesenfeld - In relation to the S.U. the convention adopted a position inspired by the trials and purges, to the effect that a third, direct bourgeois force appeared(?) in the Soviet Union apparatus, and was driving the Stalinists out. Throughout the period, the PC held back presenting this position in articles, and resisting issuing articles on the Russian Problem. The position presented in article for 4th and in international minority report is an elaboration of the convention position. As yet, no counter-explanation has been made to Wiesenfeld, hold, and implied convention position, by a Central Committee member.

O

Statements continued - numbers listed in minutes not correct.

11. Oehler- A Plenum in giving or refusing to give a comrade or comrades a minority status in no way alters the other question stated in the constitution, to allow any comrade to appeal for votes for convention delegate on their documents. To elect delegates on a document and to be recognized as a minority are two different things.

12. Grant -Wiesenfeld, Sold, Ried - After expressing political critiscism of Wiesenfeld, Hadly and Grant to effect that they supported a position of parliamentarianism, Okun, Oehler, Streeter are afraid to bring it to plenum and settle politically. This is part of the drive to sink political differences and suppress minority express.

13. Grant- Wiesnfeld, Ried, Sold - On Oehler's statement and Okun motion to condemn minority- such a motion by a plenum majority, condemning a minority for presenting a political report is thoroly burocratic procedure. The exercise of the majority vote, putting the plenum on record vs. the minority for bringing in its report is a negation of the rights of minorities guaranteed by the constitution. Such a procedure was presented by Stamm and voted down at the convention. Comrade Okun further stated that on the basis of such a motion the PC could withold minority documents from the class. Discussion on this point was blocked by Oehler, Streeter, Okun, Lorenz Bertman. Grant was removed as chairman during attempted discussion on this point. This procedure means the burocratic suppression of minority position in preconvention discussion.

14. Sold - Okun stated to Sold during an official plenary session "come out into the alley and I'll show you".

15. Okun - I deny that statement.

16.- Oehler- The organizational proposals presented by comrade Grant were presented to the Plenum and were not presented in advance to the PC. This consititutes completely false procedure, and results in sabotage of the Plenum work.

17. Sold, Ried, Grant, Wiesenfeld- Okun stated in attacking Sold, Wiesenfeld, Hadlye, Grant, Young, etc. "we are not going to practice the leniency of the past. We intend to apply the hatchet very liberally"

18- Okun- The PC has leaned over backward in its attempt to re-educate these comrades. It has overlooked slander, sabotage, disruption and violation of discipline and decisions for 10 months. If the org. is to continue to exist, this must be stopped.

19- Okun. In the heat of the discussion at this session I made a remark about comrade Sold. Altho he distorts what I said as a threat to use violence against him, nevertheless the remark was not in good taste. I submit my apology to the Plenum for the remark made.

20- Sold statement, handed in by Wiesenfeld - RWL- 6th Plenum-
Comrades, I tried very hard to convince you comrades of the very bad personal jam that I'm in. Your response was completley frivilous, irresponsible and uncomradely, you refused to take any serious responsibility. Much as deplore taking AOWL and thus violating the Plenum decision you have forced me to take this step. and complete your foolish spite work. At every plenum prior to this one or two more comrades, had to leave, were excused, and had presented much weaker reasons than mine. Was it necessary for me to explain in detail that when I left Chicago the doctor said that my mother may die. I

think that my presence at the plenum at all in view of this situation should be sufficiently convincing. I am not running away from any political discussion. I havemade my fight. I leave my votes for the minority org and Int. I vote for my motion on Cowan. I vote to reject all the findings and recommendations of the Control Commission. I move and vote for that Sold be assigned to do work on the west coast until March ist. On the return trip between Sold is to tour the territory between the coast and Chicago.

21- Wiesenfeld- Comrade Bertman as chairman permitted comrades to attack coms Wiesenfeld and Grant under the implication that they were in on com Sold's leaving and were responsible for it. By a cheap trick the comrades were not permitted to reply to innuendos while the issue was hot - an old lawyer jury trick.

22. Ried, Grant, Wiesenfeld.- The motion presented by Streeter to censure Grant for "oppositionism etc. coming at the conclusion of presentation of political differences by Grant & Wiesenfeld, on Internal, US Internal, WV is censuring a comrade for presenting these differences. Further, to open a preconvention discussion by the censure of a comrade representing a minority means to organizationally prejudice the political questions. This MXXXXX following the motion that these comrades have no minority status shows an organizational split drive on thhepart of the Oehler group.

23. Cowan, for L. Thomas of cleveland unit.- I saw comrade Sold buy 2 packs of cigarettes in a corner drugstore this morning and receive some bills in change, about 9 AM Nov 26.

24.- Cowan- I saw Sold sitting in the Safeway Bus Station at about 7:30 AM this morning, eating a breakfast at the lunch counter there, after stating he was broke a short time earlier.

25. Oehler - If according to Wiesenfeld it was in order to clear the name of the National Secretary of the charges and slander of Sold,

than why did not these comrades enter motions to that effect, if they could not endorse the Control Committee findings.
26.- Wiesenfeld - submitted to PC Oct '38- Stamm, Basky, Fox and others had in the past violated RWL discipline and attack not only the secy but the PC as burocratic. Proposals for disciplinary action were roundly argued vs. To begin on Sold's statement reveals at the very best a lack of political perspective. A split revisionist group was handled with kid gloves, a comrade on the line of the League up to date is to be removed from the PC by the control comm recommendations. The comrades of the PC have been asked to take the word of comrade Cowan without documents and where documents were very easy to produce. This violates a well known dictum of Lenin mentioned it as a warning vs burocracy. In discussing the CC findings on comrade Sd Sold the comrades favoring the findings insist that the important question to consider was Sold's statement on Oehler and not the procedure of the comm even if false. This reveals a complete lack of perspective. The statement of Sold no matter how bad in itself is not a serious menace to the RWL. Burocratic procedure of a CC defended and covered by comrades Oehler, Streeter, and Okun is a menace.
27. Wiesenfeld -The control comm and the plenum establish a dangerous burocratic, unconstitutional precedent in taking disciplinary action against a comrade for the holding of a point of view. A report of findings ~~charging~~ C Oehler of slander or charges was all that was in order. But to discipline a comrade under the circumstances is a false procedure. 1- no charges were presented to c Sold. 2- the Control Com motivated the proposal for discipline on political questions. 3- In

the past, no such action was taken by any body of the RWL vs oppositions who characterized the national secy in even worse terms than c Sold. No one, who was in a responsible position, even considered such action. The question, therefore, is not the correctness or incorrectness of c Sold's remarks, but the procedure. This must be fought by all comrades until such procedure is eliminated from the org.
28. H.Shapiro - The claim that no charges were presented to com Sold by the Control commission is a lie.
29. Reid Statement entered for Sold - The RWL has consistently rejected and fought against gangsterism in the labor movement as well as the RWL. 1. The use of Stalinist gangster methods by Cowan against com Sold- e.g. threats of physical violence as a means of settling the present disputes. 2. The ejection of com Sold by Cowan from the RWL hdqtr 3. Cowans entire conduct was sorely unbecoming that of a Bolshevik; and particularly of a member of the Control Commission. 4. To this entire incident comrades Oehler and Shapiro were witnesses. Their silence and non-interference was silent agreement and objective support to Cowan. On the basis of the above I move: 1. that Cowan be immediately excluded from any further sessions of the 6th Plenum. That he be removed from the Control Commission. 3. that he be suspended from the RWL for a period of two months. During the suspension period he shall only have the privilege of attending pre-convention discussion meetings.4 . that com Shapiro be removed from the control commission for giving objective support to the action and conduct of Cowan. 5- that com Oehler be severely condemned for conduct identical to Shapiro, but Oehler's conduct was by far the most deplorable because Oehler is a) nation secretary. b) as such he had the power as acting for the highest body to intervene and establish the correct conduct. This action by Oehler should be kept in mind when his nomination comes up to the PC and as Natl secy.

Sold. Statement continued- 6. Gangsterism in a marxist organization can only be an expression of impotency in dealing with Marxist positions which the hoodlum elements cannot cope with.
30. Ried - I agree with the majority on the major political questions discussed at the plenum. Therefore I'd want this majority to have control in leading bodies. I don't think comrade Okun as an individual should be on the PC. that is why I record myself as not voting on alternate to PC.
31- Grant & Wiesenfeld- 1. The plenum denies the right to comrades of minority status. That means arbitrary denial of minority status in a new convention period, and a consequent hindrance in presenting positions. 2. This can lead to further inroads on dem centralism, especially in preconvnetion discussion. 3. This is burocratic procedure flows from false positions on S.W. G.B-US., WV and economist approach to US international. 4. The continuation of sucj procedure endangers the RWL'S Marxist line and its dem centralism. 5. Comrades must fight to eliminate such procedure, as the undersigned inted to do. 6. Any eveil consequences to org will be responsibility of comrades who voted such rights to PC and Plenum. (secy note-not undersigne
32. Okun - It is untrue that the Plenum hinders the presenting of positions in the preconvention period or the elction of delegates on the basis of any posit on, whether it have minority status or not. 2. The proposals by Grant for a convention immediately in effect exclude democratic discussion becuase the documents cannot be possibly put out

until the discussion period is almost over. 3. The present procedure is the exact procedure adopted in the org since its inception and to which Grant has never objected. 4. This statement is a threat to continue the present unprincipled fight, condemned by the plenum, to extend it instead of attempt to modify and correct it. 5. Grant here lays the basis for charge of deviations or revisions of Marxism- the first time such an intimation was made by her at the Plenum, another step in the direction of sharpening instead of resolving the fight.

Documents of Control Commission submitted to Plenum, and Amendments that carried.

Minutes of Control Commission, Nov 26, 1938
The meeting convened at 5:25 AM with a quorum of comrades Cowan and Shapiro present. Comrade Booth was absent, in Chicago.
Motion by Shapiro: Shapiro act as secretary of meeting. Cd
Motion by Cowan: the Control Commission act on -
1. The charges made comrade Sold against Comrade Oehler, which were referred to the 6th Plenum by action of the Political Committee.
2. The further charges made by comrade Sold, and contained in the Oct. 25 letter of the National Secretary to the Control Commission, that
a) "The leadership is politically bankrupt" and
b) " A ruling clicque dominates the Political Committee" Cd.
Comrade Sold was called before the Control Commission to present evidence and arguments to substantiate these charges.
Statement by Cowan: The Control Com mission has before it certain o

inal documents signed by the National Secretary of the organization which state that on Sept. 6, at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, you read the following statements into the record of the meeting...Comrade Sold interrupted to demand the agenda of the meeting. He was informed by the chairman that he had no right to act as a member of the Control Commission nor demand its records when informed by the Control Commission that he was summoned to substantiate his charges placed in the organization against the National Secretary, the Political Committee, the Second National Convnetion, and the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenums of the organization.

Comrade Sold stated that unless he was given access to the record of the Control Commission he would not attend its session.

Comrade Cowan moved to proceed with the agenda. Cd.

Motion by Shapiro: The Control Commission reaffirms the decisions of the first session, as presented to the Political Committee on Oct 11 (see min. # 225). Cd.

Motion by Cowan: That a copy of the proceedings be sent comrade Booth at once for his information. Cd.

Statement by Cowan: Upon informing the Control Commission that he would not attend its sessions, Comrade Sold insisted on remaining at the meeting and heckling and disrupting the proceedings of the Commission by personal abusive vilification of the Chairman, Comrade Cowan, who informed Comrade Sold that if he did not leave the room and premised of the Control Commission hearing he would be forcibly removed.

Comrade Cowan read into the minutes a letter from the National Secretary dated Oct 25, 1938(see 1) calling the attention of the Control Commission to alleged charges made by Comrade Sold in meetings of the Political Committee subsequent to the submission of the Control Commission first report to the P.C. These alleged charges were that "the leadership is politically bankrupt" and that " a ruling clicque dominates the PC "

Motion by Cowan to accept the communication. Cd.

Motion by Shapiro: Owing to Comrade Sold's refusal to attend the sessions, we search the record for evidence on these charges. Cd.

The minutes of Oct. 11, 1938,(see# 225) contain the follwoing statement of Sold's as recorded by Comrade Oehler and as referred to the Plenum for action by vote of the P.C. ; "There is a ruling clique in the P.C." "Internal decay is proceeding from the leadership which presents no political leadership".

The Control Commission finds that these charges were made as shown the records.

Motion by Shaprio: As of Oct.10 the Control Commission had searched the R.W.L. records and found no evidence whatever to substantiate Comrade Sold's charges considered at our first session. The Control Commission has searched the records of the R.W.L. from Oct 10 to date and again finds no evidance for such charges. Cd.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONTROL COMMISSION

Due to the absence of any evidence in the records, and due to Comrade Sold's refusal to present any evidence substantiating these charges, the Control Commission finds:

1) Since the record reveals certain positive gains of the R/L under the accused leadership in the period since Oct.1o, as well as prior to that date, and since a major portion of the actual leading work originated with and was conducted by that leadership, the charges are false and unwarranted, and constitute a continuation of the amateurish attacks on the leadership of the R/L which Comrade Sold has been waging for many months.

2) Since Comrade Sold has refused to recognize the authority of the Control Commission, both in statements and in votes before the Political Committee on Oct.11, 1938: and since he has refused to retract these false charges against the leadership or to present any evidence or arguments in support of these charges; and since he has refused to allow himslef to be questioned by the Control Commission Comrade Sold has been guilty of waging a defamatory, unprincipled, and unwarranted attack against the leadership of the R.W.L. and through this duly constituted leadership, an attack against the entire organization.

3) Comrade Sold has influenced certain weak and amateurish elements to create a bloc in the Political Committee which has hampered the effective work of the organization in the past period.

4) It is the elementary duty of every Communist to assume responsibility for his words as well as his deeds. If this is true for the rank and file member of a revolutionary organization, it is all the more the duty of leading comrades. The actions of Comrade Sold at the previous sessions of the Sixth Plenum, his repeated unprincipled attacks on the leadershop of the organization by exercising his recognized and constitution "right to express an opinion" but branding as Stalinism any attempt of the Plenum to give a political evaluation of theseopinions, his encouragement of the weak and amateurish elements above mentioned to form a bloc around this false concept, thus resulting in obstruction and delay of the pressing work of the pre-convention plenum -- all these reveal Comrade Sold as a non-communist, unprincipled and conscious disrupter whose continued position in the leadership of a Marxist organization is incompatible with the healthy work and development of the organization.

5) Comrade Sold's refusal to retract his false statements of Sept.6 and Oct. 11, his branding of Control Commission sessions as "rump sessions" (Octl1), and calling the Commission's procedure burocratic his statement(Oct 11)that he would refuse to attend sessions of the Control Commission, even if he had the time, his continued utilization of amateurish elements in the PC for obstructionist purposes, his unprincipled and non-political attack against the leadership at the sessions of the Sixth Plenum, his personal abuse and vilification of the Control Commission on the morning of Nov 26 -- these prove his inability either to correct himself nor to accept correction from the leading bodies of the R.W.L.

6) The Control Commission therefore recommends to the Sixth PlenumR.W.L.

Control Commission recommendation -

a) Immediate removal of Comrade Sold from the Political Com.

b) Suspension of Comrade Sold from the Central Committee until the Third National Convention of the R.W.L.

c) Inclusing of the Control Commission findngs and Comrade Sold on the Convention agenda, with a recommendation for the expulsion of Comrade Sold from the R.W.L. as an undisciplined, unprincipled, non-communist obstructionist and disrupter.

d) The Sixth Plenum make the complete record of the Control Commission with regard to Comrade Sold, from Sept. 10 to date, the property of the membership of the RWL through an internal bulletin as an educational document on the problem of Communist organizational procedure, and as a warning to those undeveloped and amateurish elements in the organization who have objectively aided this unprincipled individual in his work of obstruction and disruption.

Signed- C.B. Cowan- Chairman. Horace Shapiro - Secretary.

Amendments to Control Commission motions: point 6. All carried.
Eliminate point c.
Eliminate words "complete record" in point d, and substitute "findings".
Add point (e) " The PC shall make every effort despite these things to re-educate this comrade and to help him organize his life around the movement. Should Sold continue his present course the PC is empowered to take further action"
Add the point -"Sold has violated the decisions of the Control Commission, the Plenum, and the PC".